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593 holding of land and the economics of life in general, the rules and procedure of law, the emotional forms of ceremony, the dogma, rite, morality and symbol of religion, the forms of knowledge and opinion—all are interpenetrated by these relationships.

593 595 The word *family* is used in this paper to mean the organized group of a man, his wife or wives, and their children of any age, but not to include any other relatives. A Nyakyusa family, as we shall see, does not become extinct when the father dies; his younger full-brother or his senior son steps into his place and the group continues very much as before. In this society families are sometimes monogamous, sometimes polygynous; and, in consequence, two more relationships with which we are not familiar in our own culture are included in the Nyakyusa family; one is the relationship of co-wives and the other is that of half-siblings. Within a ploygynous family the different wives and their respective children form groups to some extent distinct from one another; and the term *individual family* is here used to denote the group of a man, one wife and their children, whether that group is part of a polygynous family or forms a complete monagamous family by itself.

593 595 601 The Nyakyusa themselves have no separate word for either of these small groups; the word *ekekɔlɔ* is sometimes used in the restricted sense to which we have here confined the word "family," but more usually means the whole of any single person's recognized blood kindred, living or dead, both in the male and female lines; and it is translated in this paper as *kindred*, *kinsfolk*, or *kinsmen*. They also have a word *ovokamu* which includes the whole of any one person's *ekekɔlɔ* together with all his recognized affines, and this is here translated *relatives*. The term *affines* is used to translate the Nyakyusa word *avakɔ*, which is identical in meaning with it.

[585] [435] ●436 Marriage is legally effected by the handing over of four to thirty cows, together with one or two bulls, by the groom to his wife's father. And this transfer of cattle is the key to the whole Nyakyusa system of blood and affinal relationship. Cattle have a very high value because of their production of milk and meat, which are the most highly prized foods, and because of their scarcity; they are in constant circulation, and by their movement from one man to another they forever create and maintain the bonds of kinship and affinity. Cattle circulate rapidly; few except chiefs have more than six cows in their herds at any one time, more often each man has only two or three, while some have no cows at all; and yet every mature man has paid out, for his own and his sons' marriages, five, ten or twenty times the number of cattle that he at

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present possesses. A young man is given cows by his father and sends them to his father-in-law; his father's income in cattle is derived partly from the increase of his own stock, but chiefly from the marriages of his own and his brothers' sisters and daughters, for it is the custom for full-brothers and half-brothers to given one mother cows as their daughters and sisters get married; the young man's father-in-law gives the cows which he receives some to his brothers, some to his sons, and some he keeps himself. And thus, continually, the cattle are driven down the paths of human relationship.

The passage of cattle makes the children of a marriage legitimate and members of their father's family; the sons can inherit from their father, and the daughters, when they marry in their turn, bring cattle to him. But if a woman bears a child to a man who has given no cows for her, the child is illegitimate, has no right of inheritance anywhere, and belongs either to her husband or father, not to its own biological sire.

Getting married is not a single event; the marriage-cattle are seldom handed over all at once, but in ones, twos, or threes over a period of years; and a girl very commonly goes to visit and sleep with her betrothed husband, from time to time, for several years before she finally sets up house with him and begins to bear his children. There are three ways of getting married: (1) by negotiation with the girl's father (2) by running off with an unmarried girl (3) by running off with a married woman. The first is the ideal, socially approved, method and is not uncommonly followed. The negotiations often begin while the girl is still an infant, sometimes even before she is born; the man sends one or two cows to her father to bespeak her (*okosingela*). These cows are counted as part of the marriage-cattle (*ebyagwela*) and the girl is henceforth called his "wife," but she lives at home with her parents. Sometimes a boy is betrothed by his father while he himself is still young, but always, I think, to a girl several years his junior. Such betrothals are determined by the friendship of the two families. A girl who is bespoken in infancy does not, ideally, go to live altogether with her husband till after she has reached puberty and passed through the elaborate initiation which then takes place. But there is an intermediate period when, from the age of ten or earlier, she is allowed to visit and sleep with her husband from time to time. The man sends a bull or a hen to her father to ask for his wife (*okosombolela*), and the old man agrees to let her go on occasional visits. But she is seldom allowed to go until at least three cows, in all, have been received for her. She is not supposed to be deflowered before puberty and she and her husband always, at first, practise limited intercourse without penetration. Not infrequently, however, full intercourse